

Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-10

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S E C R E T STATE 083853 TOSEC 030157

FOR AF MOOSE, S/S WISNER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, LI

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S MEMO FOR LIBERIA: REVISED RHODESIA
AND NAMIBIA ISSUES

1. SUGGEST FOLLOWING BE INSERTED IN THE PRESIDENT'S
LIBERIA MEMO TO REPLACE ISSUES 1 AND 2 ON RHODESIA AND
NAMIBIA RESPECTIVELY. THERE ARE NO CHANGES IN ISSUE 3,
U.S.. POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA.

2. RHODESIA: U.S. OBJECTIVE: TO EXPLAIN CURRENT U.S.
POLICY REGARDING A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT AND TO ENLIST
LIBERIAN SUPPORT.

3. LIBERIAN OBJECTIVE: TO URGE THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN ITS
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ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN NEGOTIATING A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT
WHICH WILL BRING ABOUT A MODERATE, DEMOCRATIC ZIMBABWE.
TO ENCOURAGE U.S. EFFORTS TO UNITE THE NATIONALIST GROUPS
OR BRING THEM TOGETHER INTO ONE EFFECTIVE SETTLEMENT.

4. ESSENTIAL FACTORS: LIBERIA WANTS TO SEE A MODERATE
REGIME IN ZIMBABWE. IT IS SOMEWHAT CONCERNED BY THE

RADICAL TENDENCIES OF MUGABE AND PROBABLY WOULD PREFER TO SEE A SETTLEMENT WHICH GAVE HIM NO REAL POWER. IT VIEWS NKOMO AS A PRAGMATIST, AND WOULD WELCOME A SETTLE-

MENT WHICH WOULD INVOLVE HIM ALONG WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA AND REVEREND SITHOLE. PRESIDENT TOLBERT RECENTLY SENT A LETTER TO YOU EXPRESSING HIS APPRECIATION FOR AMERICA'S ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT EFFORT. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE NEED TO STEP UP EFFORTS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ALL THE NATIONALIST FIGURES.

5. POINTS TO BE MADE: (A) THE U.S. CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AND VIEWS THEM AS A STANDARD AGAINST WHICH ANY OTHER SETTLEMENT EFFORT MUST BE MEASURED.

6. (B) IN THIS REGARD, THE U.S. AND U.K. WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH ALL OF THE RELEVANT PARTIES, BOTH THOSE INSIDE RHODESIA AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

7. (C) IT STILL SEEMS THAT THE BEST WAY TO RESOLVE THE COMPETITION AMONG NATIONALIST PARTIES IS THROUGH FAIR ELECTIONS OPEN TO ALL. THIS WOULD REQUIRE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS THAT WOULD GIVE NO PARTY SPECIAL ADVANTAGE
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AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR A NEW ZIMBABWE ARMY THAT WOULD ASSURE ITS LOYALTY TO THE FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENT.

8. (D) WE HOPE THAT LIBERIA, AND OTHER OAU MEMBERS, WILL ENCOURAGE THE VARIOUS NATIONALISTS TO BRIDGE THEIR DIFFERENCES. IN THIS REGARD LIBERIA OCCUPIES A SPECIAL POSITION. YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT ARE ADMIRER BY BOTH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE.

9. (E) PERHAPS YOU COULD ENCOURAGE THEM TO KEEP THEIR OPTIONS OPEN AND NOT PAINT THEMSELVES DEEPER INTO SMITH'S CORNER.

10. (F) SPECIFICALLY, A WILLINGNESS ON THEIR PART TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING ON RHODESIA WOULD BE A HOPEFUL STEP TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

11. NAMIBIA: U.S. OBJECTIVES: AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA.

12. LIBERIAN OBJECTIVES: THE SAME. THE LIBERIANS MAY RAISE NAMIBIA IN THE CONTEXT OF A GENERAL DISCUSSION

ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.

13. ESSENTIAL FACTORS: LIBERIA'S INTEREST IN NAMIBIA
GOES BACK AT LEAST TO 1960 WHEN, WITH ETHIOPIA, IT

INSTITUTED PROCEEDINGS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IN THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. ALTHOUGH THE COURT RULED, IN 1966, THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES LACKED STANDING, THE DISSENTING OPINIONS LAID THE BASIS FOR SUBSEQUENT UN ACTION, AND LIBERIA CONSIDERS THAT IT WON AT LEAST A MORAL VICTORY. LIBERIA SUPPORTS A SETTLEMENT UNDER UN AUSPICES, BUT IS SKEPTICAL OF A SWAPO-LED NAMIBIA BECAUSE OF ITS DIFFERING POLITICAL VIEWPOINT.

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14. POINTS TO BE MADE: (A) WE ARE CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA-EFFORTS TO WHICH LIBERIA ALREADY HAS MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION.

15. (B) WE BELIEVE THE REVISED SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL, WHICH THE FIVE HAVE JUST DISTRIBUTED, OFFERS A FAIR BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA AND THE BEST WAY FOR AVOIDING FURTHER BLOODSHED AND STRIFE.

16. (C) IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE KEEP UP THE MOMENTUM ON NAMIBIA, LEST THE SOUTH AFRICANS SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CARRY OUT AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT."

17. (D) SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL WOULD BE THE SINGLE MOST EFFECTIVE ARGUMENT FOR US TO USE IN SECURING SOUTH AFRICA'S AGREEMENT, WHICH WOULD OPEN THE WAY FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN NAMIBIA IN KEEPING WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385.

18. (E) ON THE OTHER HAND, IF SWAPO REJECTS THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL SOUTH AFRICA WILL FEEL FREE TO EMBARK ON AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.

COOPER

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